2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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THE FELLĀḤÎN OF UPPER EGYPT

563 to the northern part of the country. Europeans of various nationalities have for many years past settled in Egypt, most of them being engaged in business connected with the production and sale of cotton, sugar, and the like.

361 137 The villages of Egypt (see Fig. 4), as seen from the railway-carriage or from points of vantage in the cultivation, present a most picturesque appearance. They are generally surrounded with palm-groves, often very extensive, while palm-trees also grow actually among the houses, affording a welcome shelter from the

● [343]

FIG. 5. A PIGEON-HOUSE

heat. These palm-girt villages are dotted about all over the cultivation, the brilliant green of which presents a startling con- [133] trast to the immediately adjacent, and seemingly endless, desert. Sometimes a village encroaches right on to the edge of the desert, the upper slopes of which tower above it, forming a most romantic background. During the period of inundation the villages, which [132] stand on a somewhat higher level than the surrounding cultivation, appear like palm-encircled islands in a vast inland sea, a geographical feature also remarked upon by Herodotus.[1]

343 231 Pigeon-houses (see Fig. 5) are prominent architectural features in a village. They are sometimes in the form of towers, with sloping, white-washed mud walls, surmounted by several layers of large pottery jars placed side by side in rows. Every jar has a hole in the base, for the ingress and egress of the pigeons. Some-

[1] II. 97.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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times the pigeon-houses are painted with simple white designs. This is done, so I was told in one or two villages, because the birds like it, and it draws them back to their own houses! Pigeons are kept chiefly for the sake of the dung, which is considered to be a valuable fertilizer for the fields. Probably, however, more harm than good is done to the crops by the breeding of these birds, for they accumulate in large flocks when the corn is ripening, and are with difficulty dispersed by men and boys armed with slings and stones.

FIG. 6. A VILLAGE HOUSE OF THE BETTER SORT

The houses of the peasants, in many cases mere hovels, are made of crude bricks, sometimes covered over with mud plastering. In the better houses (see Fig. 6) there is generally a flight of steps leading to an upper story, where there may be a sitting-room (*mandareh*), furnished with benches (called *dikak*, singular *dikkeh*), which are covered with rugs and supplied with cushions. The room in which the foodstuffs are kept is also usually in this upper story. The flat roof (Fig. 7) is a pleasant place on which to sit and watch the life in the streets below; it also serves as a hen-run, dog- and cat-run, a drying-ground, and is put to other utilitarian purposes. Here, for example, are stored huge bundles of sticks and dry maize-stalks (called *būṣ*), together with quantities of cakes of cow- and buffalo-dung, neatly stacked in rows, which are used

INDUSTRIES AND MARKETS

hours and then left to go out. The vessels are removed from the oven when they are cold.

The water-jars (*balālīṣ*) manufactured at this place are entirely hand-made, and for this process a circular hollow in the ground, such as has been described previously, is used. Large, shallow saucers and bowls are made in the same way.

A large lump of clay, sufficient to form the whole *ballāṣ*, is placed in the hollow, and beaten into a preliminary shape with the cottage-loaf-shaped clay implement. The curved piece of wood is also used here to beat up the sides of the vessel. When bowl and saucers are being made the rims are beaten into shape with it likewise. A *gurūt* is used to cut off any superfluous clay that may appear during the formation of the *ballāṣ*. These jars are then left to sun-bake for a short time before the rim is added with the aid of the wheel. The *balālīṣ* are baked for the same length of time as the *ziyār*.

I asked a potter who worked with the wheel how long it took to become proficient in the art, and he told me that he had learned it from his father, and had taken five years to become really skilled in his work. He, however, said that if he had learned it from some one else it would have taken him ten years to become an expert. His father, he remarked, was a good teacher as well as a very skilful workman.

The granaries, which are usually erected on the roofs of the houses, are made by the women out of clay and chopped straw, well mixed together. Each granary takes some time to complete, as it can only be made piecemeal. The finished portion must remain exposed to the sun until it is fairly dry before another can be added. When the whole is constructed it is left in the sun to harden thoroughly.

The granary has a circular opening at the top, covered by a clay lid, while near the base there is a small opening which is closed with a mud stopper. This latter opening is used when the supply of grain in the granary is low, the grain being more easily extracted through it than through the opening at the top, for many such granaries are from four to five feet high.

These granaries are usually roughly circular, with straight sides, the top slightly domed; but in some parts of Egypt many of them are globular, a shape possibly derived from certain basket granaries described below. Farther south, near el-Kāb, I saw some much

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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larger granaries, which stood on the ground. They, again, were made of sun-baked clay. Many of these must have been from seven to eight or ten feet high.

Brick-making is also an important industry. The clay is mixed with chopped straw, and is prepared and kneaded as for pottery-making (see above, pp. 135, 151). So far as I know, men only are employed in this work. The bricks are shaped in a wooden mould with a handle, and are left on the ground to sun-bake (Fig. 81). Most of the houses of the *fellāḥīn*, and even some of the better-class residences, are built with these crude bricks, though the owners of the latter type of house more usually prefer to use fire-baked bricks.

FIG. 81. BRICKS LEFT TO SUN-BAKE: WOODEN MOULD WITH HANDLE IN FOREGROUND

When the walls are being built each bricklayer is assisted by a fellow-workman, who stands below and throws up to him one brick at a time (Fig. 82). I have often watched walls being built in this way, and I do not remember ever seeing a bricklayer miss a catch!

I have referred more than once in preceding chapters to fuel manufactured out of cow- or buffalo-dung. This dung is made into round, flat cakes by the women and young girls. Very young children are often to be seen in the villages, their hands and arms plastered with dung, busily engaged in making these cakes, which

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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AGRICULTURE AND HARVEST RITES

The corn is cut with a primitive sickle (Fig. 101), and is immediately tied up into small sheaves, which are carried to the threshing-floor on the backs of camels (Fig. 102). The threshing-floor is usually a bare place near the fields, and here the corn is piled up in great heaps.

The threshing is done with a sledge-like machine, called *nōrag*, drawn by oxen. It consists of a wooden frame, on which the driver sits, and solid iron wheels which are passed over and over the corn, breaking up the stalks and separating the grain from the husks (Fig. 103). The broken stalks are collected and packed into net sacks, which are carried off on the backs of donkeys (Fig. 104). The grain, which is, of course, still mixed up with chaff, is piled up in heaps ready for winnowing. This takes place out of doors, the grain being thrown up into the air with a large wooden fork or a wooden spade (Fig. 105). The wind carries off the chaff, the grain falling below in a heap (Fig. 106). A second process is necessary in order to clear the grain entirely of chaff, and so it is carefully sifted in large sieves. The grain is then piled up into heaps, over which palm-branches are sometimes placed to prevent the wind from blowing any of it away. The heaps are left standing all night, and late in the evening it is customary for the owner to place flat, round loaves of bread among the grain, these loaves being the perquisite of the man who, on the following morning, carries it to the owner's granaries.

FIG. 99. TWO 'BRIDES OF THE CORN,' THE UPPER ONE NEW, THE LOWER SOME YEARS OLD

The granaries are usually situated on the roofs of houses, and are made of clay or basket-work.[1]

It is the custom to pay all the harvesters in kind (Fig. 107), and

[1] See pp. 153 f., 158.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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Ancient Egypt MR5

CHAPTER XVIII

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANALOGIES

I WISH to make it quite clear that in this chapter I am by no means supplying a full list of the ancient analogies with which I am acquainted. My intention is merely to give the reader some idea of the importance of this particular branch of my research. In my strictly scientific account of the *felläḥîn*, to which I have referred in the Preface, the question of survivals will be dealt with very fully.

As I am shortly publishing a book which deals exclusively with Coptic saints and Muslim sheikhs, to be followed later by a book on modern Egyptian medicine-men and their remedies, I am here omitting all references to the numerous and important survivals connected with the cults of those saints and sheikhs, and I am only just touching on the resemblances of the modern to the ancient magico-medical prescriptions.

An ancient Egyptian town and village must have presented much the same appearance as an Upper Egyptian town and village of to-day.[1] Then as now (pp. 27 f.) the better sort of house had one or more upper stories,[2] was doubtless often whitewashed or colour-washed,[3] and had a staircase probably (as is now frequently the case) of brick, leading from floor to floor and on to the roof, where were erected exactly the same mud granaries (p. 28) as are to be seen there nowadays (see Fig. 154).

On the roof of an ancient as of a modern house were often placed two *malâḳif* (singular *malḳaf*),[4] the ventilators by means of which the north and south wind are conveyed into the house during the hot weather.

[1] See A. M. Blackman, *Luxor and its Temples* (London, 1923), p. 4; T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part I (London, 1923), p. 54 and note 1.

[2] A. Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten* (Heidelberg, 1920), p. 168; A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum* (Tübingen, 1923), pp. 190 ff.; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1923), Pl. 60a.

[3] Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* (London, 1923), Pl. XXXIV, p. 30.

[4] A. Erman and H. Ranke, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 f.; A. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 168; N. de Garis Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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shows (Fig. 169) two men preparing the clay by kneading it with their feet (*cf.* pp. 135, 151).

The resemblance of the ancient to the modern clay granaries

FIG. 172. ANCIENT BRICK-MAKERS
After P. E. Newberry, The Life of Rekhmara (London, 1900), Pl. XXI.

has already been pointed out (p. 280). Tall granaries standing on the ground, such as I saw at el-Kāb (p. 153), were of course exceedingly common in ancient Egypt.[1]

The ancient and modern methods of brick-making (p. 154) are identical, as can be seen from Fig. 172. The Twelfth-Dynasty brick-mould found by Professor Petrie at el-Lāhūn (Fig. 173) is exactly like that used at the present day (see p. 154, Fig. 81).[2]

FIG. 173. TWELFTH-DYNASTY SICKLE, SPINDLE, AND BRICK-MOULD
After W. M. F. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara, Pl. IX.

Sheep-dung, which is still commonly used as fuel in Egypt, was similarly employed anciently, certainly during the Eighteenth Dynasty,[3] and so, too, probably was cow-dung. Herodotus

[1] See, *e.g.*, W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Pls. 60a, 63; A. Wiedemann, *Das alte Aegypten*, p. 173, Fig. 31; Erman and Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 520.
[2] See also W. Wreszinski, *Bericht über die photograph. Expedition* (Halle a. S., 1927), Pl. 13, B.
[3] See T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part I, p. 64.

norag. This is a heavy wooden seat, supported on a rough chassis and moving on three axles armed with eleven solid sharp-edged discs for breaking up the straw. The driver sits in the chair and guides the *gamoossa* round in a circle over the ears so that the discs chop them up, while another worker throws fresh stalks under the machine. The *norag*, which is peculiar to Egypt, costs about L.E. 8. An even simpler variety without the cutting discs averages L.E. 3.

Winnowing is done, as in most Mediterranean countries, by throwing the chaff which contains the corn into the air in the direction of the wind, after it has been trampled and chopped up For this the fellaheen use a two- or four-pronged wooden fork, called a *garuf*. With one *norag* and several *garufs* they can deal with the produce of about 25 feddans.

Last of all the grain is sifted in large sieves by the women and put into sacks, jars or baskets, ready for sale.

D. Berseem

In summer cattle are fed either on chopped straw mixed with beans, or on barley ; but in winter they live on *berseem*, an Egyptian species of clover (*trifolium alexandrinum*). *Berseem* is cultivated everywhere and covers a fifth of the total acreage, for it nourishes the ground as well as the cattle by absorbing the nitrogen from the air into the soil. It provides excellent forage, grows quickly and brings good returns for a minimum of work. The fellaheen sow it between September and November, often after maize, cotton or rice, and before taking away the old stalks which serve to protect the seedlings. After fifty days or so it is ready for a first cutting, followed by four more at intervals of 35 days; the cattle graze on it as it grows Two thirds of a feddan will feed a *gamoossa*, or a quarter of a feddan a donkey, for one season.

E. Other Food Crops

There are a number of other foodstuffs which are produced by the fellah's labour from the soil of Egypt. It will suffice to mention the most important.

Rice was brought from India under the Caliphs, and is cultivated in the well-watered regions of Damietta and the Northern Delta.

311
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material is used, that is to say the nearest available earth. 361
Thus large holes have been created, which have been dug 516
deeper and wider, and have then filled up with water. These
are the *birkas* or village ponds, which serve as drinking- [515
troughs for animals, as swimming-pools for children, and 481]
sometimes as sources of water for the housewife.

The Government has had fifty-odd of these hotbeds of 164
disease filled in, not without meeting opposition from the 657
fellaheen, whose habits and customs have thus been disturbed.
Eighteen such ponds needed 10,000 cubic metres of earth.

Not far from the *birka*, still outside the village, is the 243
gurn, or winnowing and threshing-floor. This is a flat 251
patch of ground covered with cow-dung and earth, which has
been levelled and trodden down. Its size is proportionate
to the number of families that use it. The *gurn* is common
property, and nobody can appropriate it. It is big enough
for ten groups to work at a time, until all have winnowed
their corn. It also serves as a public square for meetings,
though often an adjacent piece of waste ground supplements
it for this purpose. Not far away can be seen a great rubbish 364
heap made of dirt, dung and carrion. This heap would over- 744
top the houses, if the dogs and birds of prey did not come
regularly to reduce it, and if the fellaheen did not take manure
from it. It would be an even greater danger to public
health than the *birka*, if the sun did not disinfect it.

Still outside the village, particularly in the Fayum 231
and in Middle Egypt, there may be square towers, as much as 343
thirty feet high, banded in black and white. Their heavy
base, seven yards by four, gives them the appearance of forts,
but they are in fact pigeon-cotes. You can see them assailed,
at sunset, each by a cloud of from fifteen to twenty thousand
pigeons coming back to roost after feeding among the fields.
The construction of these "houses", requiring an outlay of
from L.E. 200 to L.E. 300 each, is a specialised trade. It is
beyond the means of our fellaheen, and can be undertaken
only by an *omda* or big landowner. In the South a pigeon-
cote is often built on a corner of the rooftop, thus raising the
skyline of the village; but as a rule these houses with pigeon-
cotes, whether built-on or independent, do not form part of
the village itself. They stand apart, and can be distinguished
by their extra storey, their more pretentious appearance,
and their gardens. Such are the owner's villa on an *ezba*, or

231
343 in bigger villages the house of a notable or a successful merchant.

251 Within easy reach of the village on the side facing the
343 fields are the *shoonas* or depôts for storing crops, together with offices and officials' houses, and the *ilzamiya* or compulsory school.

344 Now let us go inside the village. In a clean and access-
485 ible corner, better cared for than all the other houses, there may be sometimes a "rest-house" or *madyafa* of two or three rooms, kept by the *omda* for the use of Government officials and travellers. This building belongs either to the Irrigation Department or to the Ministry of the Interior. There are Government rest-houses in about 400 villages.

361 Let us penetrate to the heart of the little town. What
363 we have seen up to now has given us no idea of what to expect. All is dust and disorder. There is no plan or system, and not a single straight line. The only thing in common with a modern city is the congestion due to lack of building space. The alleys, strewn with dung and rubbish, are so narrow that three people cannot walk abreast; they are less than two yards wide. There is no hope of driving through, and hardly of riding through on donkey-back. However, in some places where there is more movement, the buildings are of necessity less crowded, as in front of the *omda's*
[346 house or the school, and in the business quarter, which
346] contains the little open shops of the tailor, the grocer, the potter, and the weaver, and if the village is large enough, a café. There are many villages without a single shop, so that it is impossible to buy anything at all, except from an
[443] occasional pedlar. In some villages the system of barter is still in use, corn, for example, being exchanged for salt.

491 No main road ever goes through a village as in England
363 or France. The hamlet is a compact mass of buildings,
361 standing aside from the road, canal or river; wheeled vehicles cannot enter it. That is why so few foreigners, missionaries and, indeed, well-to-do Egyptians except the *'omda* and the *sarraf*, know anything of its inner life. To get a picture of
622 this, we must first describe the leading characters.
647 We have already met the *'omda* and the *sarraf*, who link the fellah to the Government, and the *nazir*, his link with the
443 landowner. Another connection with the civilised world is
563 provided by the *baqqal*, often a Greek, who performs the

8;Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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58.

Lamentations of a Builder.

539× 343

A builder, having undertaken to build a pretentious bath, sits before the unsuccessful edifice and ridicules his work and himself.

Ḥammām ya-skanderāni,
ḥammām, šurlak barrāni!
ḥammām, ʿan-illi banēto,
ḥammām, u-ma ḥaddē ʿēri.

Thou Alexandrian bath!
O bath, how wretchedly thou art made!
O bath, and it was made by me,
O bath, and nobody but myself!

2. According to Maḥmūd, barrāni, "from abroad", is used here in the same sense as when applied to money, meaning "false" or "under value". Once, wishing to tell one of our men that the small coin of Egypt is coined in Berlin, I began thus: "All your Egyptian money is from abroad (barrāni)". He took fright and interrupted me with the words: "No, thou jokest, it is full value". [192]

8:Schaffer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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And pile up the dove-jars and boards,
And pack the peaches and the apples!
Come, my beloved and caress me,
Else thou wilt stay out and leave me alone."

1. The bull which turns the sâqye. (Compare No. 97.)

2. The walls of the dove-houses are built of Nile mud and earthen jars, so ranged on each other, that the openings are toward the inside and the bottoms toward the outside. These jars furnish the holes for the nests. The bottoms of some of the jars are knocked out, in order to make entrance-holes. Boards and the ribs of palm-branches, form perches on the inside, while for the outside, branches of trees are usually stuck into the wall.

The illustration shows a half-demolished dove-house, the construction of which is thus made very clear.

These fortress-like dove-houses are to be found especially in Middle Egypt.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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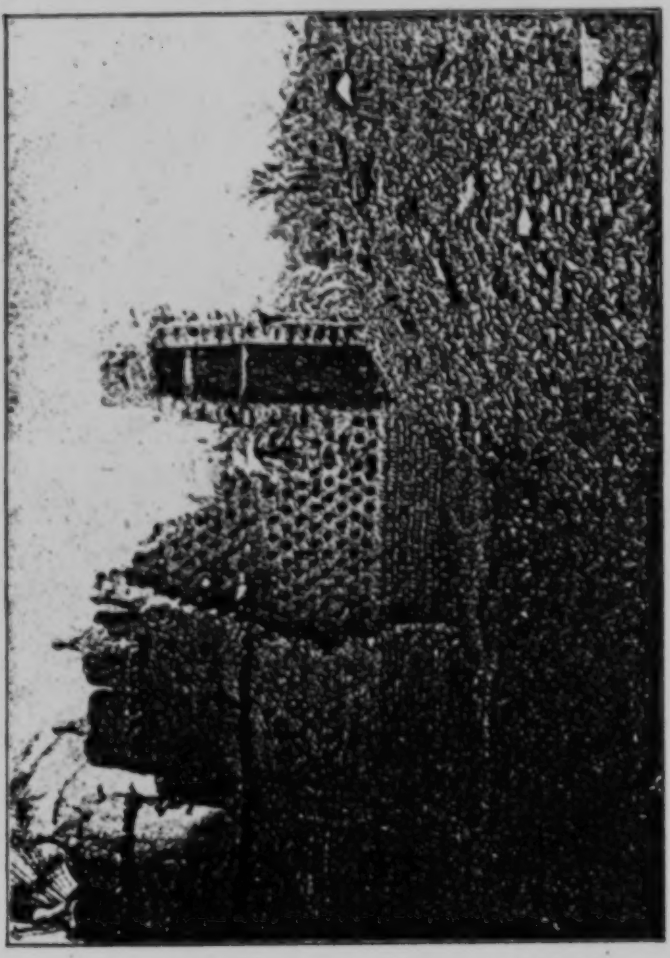

A Ruined Dove-House.
Ehnasye in Middle Egypt.

Photograph by L. Borchardt.